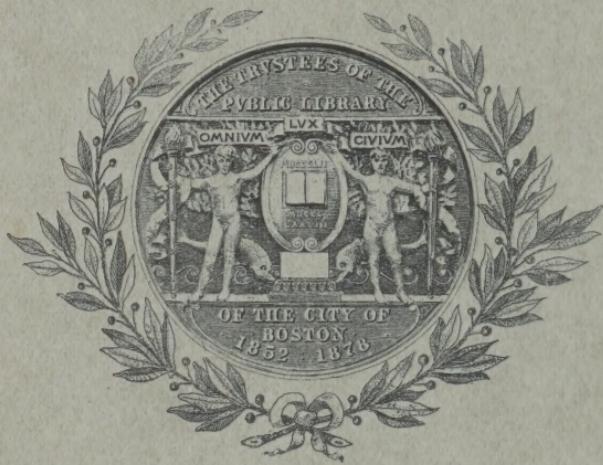




No 4310a14



AN

ADDRESS UPON SECESSION.

47253

DELIVERED AT

CHARLESTOWN, MASS.,

ON THE

Eve of the 8th of January, 1861.

BY

4310411

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

BOSTON:
TICKNOR AND FIELDS.

M DCCC LXI.

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ADDRESS.

IT is a melancholy circumstance in our experience that an assembly of American citizens should be convened under the shadow of Bunker Hill, and within sight of Faneuil Hall, to consider whether and by what means the Union of the American States can be preserved. But it is only by exigencies and trials that the greatness possible to an individual or a nation is developed; and, under Providence, I yet believe that the wisdom and virtue and power of the American people are sufficient to exact of posterity for the men of this generation, who are at once true to Liberty and Union, the admiration and homage which we accord to those of our ancestors who inaugurated the liberty of the people, and organized the Union of the States on this continent. Yielding what is due to difference of civilization and circumstances, our experience corresponds to that of the renowned nations of ancient and modern times.

Institutions may protect the rights of a people, but they have never essentially changed the char-

acter of men. Personal ambition, envy, disappointment, and hatred, organizing themselves in base and dangerous conspiracies, have waited upon every prosperous commonwealth. Vain hope it was in the founders of these States and of this Confederacy that they and theirs should escape the evil to which free governments have been ever exposed!

But O what excellency of wisdom it was, that in free schools, a free press, a religion untrammelled by law, a clergy identified with the interests, the hopes, and the fortunes of the people, the right of every citizen to bear arms, and the recognized, though limited sovereignty of each State, they secured liberty to all the generations of men on this continent, and set an example which the nations of the earth shall gladly imitate. Nor is it improbable that the trial through which we are passing shall, more than any previous experience, demonstrate our capacity to reconcile liberty and law.

No citizen ought now to be surprised or alarmed. And I may appeal to those of you who honored me with your presence on a former occasion, that nothing has yet transpired of which you were not, in general terms at least, fully forewarned. Looking to events subsequent to the 6th of November, I then said: "The slaveholders will not loose their grasp upon the treasury, the army, the navy, all the chief offices of government at home and abroad, without active, possibly not without violent resistance. *The lovers of power and the enemies of the Union will combine.*" The conspiracy against the Union, of

which, alas! there is now but too ample evidence, was then announced, and some of the conspirators pointed out. We knew then that unbridled license and unblushing corruption existed in the government; but we did not know that three traitors to the Union were members of the President's Cabinet; that the President himself, unwittingly as we may now hope, was the instrument of their designs; that munitions of war in great abundance were distributed in Southern forts and arsenals; that these forts and arsenals were purposely kept in a defenceless state, that their contents might easily and surely fall into the hands of the secessionists; that our small navy was unnecessarily employed in distant seas; that the strongholds of the nation were wilfully exposed to the attacks of the enemies of the Union; and, finally, that a chief officer of the government, the head of the War Department, had, without the knowledge of the President, entered into an agreement by which South Carolina, the leader of the rebellion, was put in a position to seize the forts in the harbor of Charleston, without danger to those engaged in the treason.

One simple act of instinctive patriotic devotion to the country has precipitated events, disclosed the plot, startled the traitors, awakened the President to his duty, aroused and concentrated the energies of the people. So long as the incorruptible integrity of the captors of André shall be remembered, so long as men shall be moved to sympathy by the winter horrors of Valley Forge, so long as the com-

mon trials and common dangers endured by the men of the South and the North shall be recognized,— so long will the people of this country cherish the wise act and sturdy patriotism of Major Anderson. Nor is it to be deemed among the least of the fortuitous circumstances of that movement, that its author is a son of the South and a citizen of Kentucky. And I doubt not the time shall come when the States of the South with one accord shall acknowledge their indebtedness to the commander of Fort Sumter. Nor should any man of this generation forget how great the relief he experienced when the intelligence reached him that the exposed band at Fort Moultrie, numbering scarcely one fourth as many as the defenders of Thermopylæ, had taken refuge in Fort Sumter. Men realized then how powerless secession is and ever must be in individual States, while the general government holds fortifications in the harbors that can neither be taken, nor wisely attacked, nor safely menaced. And though in the long annals of our national life it shall here and there be written that occasionally, and temporarily, passion usurped the throne of reason, and madness was installed in the seat of justice, yet that the power and integrity of the nation were everywhere displayed, and the banner of the Republic, without one star dimmed or one stripe erased, everywhere proclaimed the truth that only in the Union is there peace.

The world's history will furnish few chapters more interesting and instructive than a true record of the events of the last sixty days in America. How a

mighty nation suddenly found itself the victim of a wide-spread and dangerous conspiracy, and disseverance of territory and civil war imminent. How the government was corrupted, its chief officers engaged in treason, and, under one pretext and another, fleeing from the capital. How its treasury was drained and its credit destroyed. How confidence was impaired, industry paralyzed, business prostrated. Then how reason resumed its sway, justice asserted its supremacy, men rallied to the support of the Republic. Then how the misled escaped from the meshes of traitors, the wavering became loyal, and the people, regardless of party ties and the calls of weak or treasonable leaders, announced the doctrine that not one inch of territory shall be severed from the American Union. And, finally, how in all and through all and above all were seen the forms and heard the voices of two heroes of two wars, one born in the South and the other in the North, who rebuked treason, defended the Union, and gave assurance to the country that the army of the Republic would prove true to the interests of the Republic.

We may anticipate, but we cannot fix, the judgment of posterity concerning these events; and, indeed, what more interests us is the discovery of a safe way of escape from the dangers that remain.

The first necessity of this inquiry relates to the causes, the means, and the steps by which we have become involved in the present difficulties.

At the foundation of our public and national troubles lies the institution of African slavery. All

theories concerning the causes of the present disturbances rest upon this foundation.

To be sure there was, independent of slavery, a distinctive difference between the settlers of Virginia and the country South, and the settlers of Pennsylvania, New York, and New England. But this difference could never have disturbed the harmony of our national relations.

The disturbing influence of slavery is due to the fact that it is recognized in the Constitution of the country. But slaves are not recognized as property, nor is the rightfulness of slaveholding recognized ; but slavery, as an institution, is recognized as an element of political power in the government of the country. And by this recognition the extension of slavery to territories that might ultimately seek admission as States into the American Union became a question of interest and of right, under the Constitution, to every citizen of the Republic.

Various expedients for the limitation of this right, or the transfer of its exercise, have been devised, and all have signally failed. Whether the citizen is to be deprived of a portion of political power by the extension of slavery to a new territory, the ultimate admission of that territory as a slave State into the Union, a partial representation of its slaves in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral Colleges, are questions of individual personal right in the government of the country, which cannot be transferred properly to the settlers of the territory, or to the Supreme Court, but can be disposed of only

by the action of the people who are already in the Union as citizens of the several States. This democratic republican doctrine would never have been denied, had not the cotton culture assumed majestic proportions, and had not the increase of free States alarmed the ambitious leaders of the South. From the first fact is derived the significant and menacing expression, *Cotton is King*; and from the latter the consciousness of power which leads the States of the North to imitate the example of the Antonines, and, regulating their conduct by justice, they are as little disposed to endure as to offer an injury. As between the *States* of this Union, free and slave, there is no conflict whatever. The duty of each and all under the Constitution is plain. If the States had been left to themselves that duty would have been, generally, freely and faithfully performed.

But as between the claim of the slave States to extend the institution of slavery to the territories, and the counter claim and purpose of the free States to consecrate all these territories to freedom, there is an irrepressible conflict. The troubles between the States are due to the reactionary influence of the revolutionary policy connected with, and the events that have transpired in, the territories.

The policy of excluding slavery from the territories is older than the Constitution. It dates from 1784, when proposed in the Continental Congress, by Mr. Jefferson; and there has never been a moment of time since, when the free States were not in favor of its exclusion. No change in this particular can

be expected, and probably none is expected, by the South.

That the South has been greatly disappointed in the increase of wealth, population, and number of the free States, there is no doubt. In 1819, a writer in Niles's Register assumed, as the basis of his predictions concerning the future of the two sections, that not more than one free State would be formed out of the Illinois country, as he called the Northwest, previous to 1850. In 1860 that same country, with the addition of the single State of Ohio, contained a population equal to the free inhabitants of the fifteen slave States; while Florida, which the writer proposed to set off against the Illinois country, is in the Union, but with a single representative only in the lower house of Congress.

Each census since 1810 has disclosed the important fact, that the increase of population is chiefly in the free States; and each decennial apportionment of representation in Congress has transferred political power from the slave to the free States. Hence four decennial periods have been periods of intense excitement, and at each the friends of the Union have been alarmed for its safety. The years 1820, 1830, 1850, and 1860, are marked as crises in the affairs of the country, and we necessarily connect the revolutionary spirit manifested at each epoch with the sensible realization of the loss of political power. The vigor with which General Jackson, in 1832, wielded the authority of the government against nullification, had paralyzed South Carolina and destroyed her men, so that

in 1840 there was neither capacity nor spirit for rebellion. Moreover, the promise of the annexation of Texas, though never reconciling the more comprehensive sagacity of the statesmen of South Carolina, yet served for the moment to divert the attention of the Southern mind from the threatening preponderance of the North. The Mexican war is more intimately connected with our present troubles than is generally believed. Many ambitious men took an active part in the field. They saw at once the wealth and the weakness of that enervated and effete republic. Especially was it apparent to those interested in slavery, that Mexico and Central America offered golden opportunities for the extension of territory and the increase of power.

It may be well to bear in mind the fact, that the major part of the general officers of the Mexican war, who were called from civil life to the army, have since been found acting together in the political affairs of the country; and as early as 1850 a secret organization was contemplated by which the policy of the Democratic party was to be controlled.

It was in 1850 also that the first of a series of Congressional measures was adopted that threatened the integrity of the Union. I refer to the fugitive-slave law, with its denial of right of trial by jury. Had this been secured in the State where the alleged fugitive was found, or in that from which he escaped, there would have been a substantial and general acquiescence in the enforcement of the law. But the secessionists, neglecting the example of General

Washington, who only desired the return of a fugitive if it could be secured without offence to the feelings of the people among whom the slave might be sojourning, demanded the passage of a law unnecessarily repugnant to the inhabitants of the free States. Thus was the work of alienation commenced, and thus did mutual hostility supplant a common loyalty to the Union. Nor was it an ordinary insult to the integrity of the people of the free States, that the law was framed upon the theory that a jury of the country would not find the fact according to the evidence. It is my firm and conscientious belief that the verdicts of juries would have been governed by the testimony and the law, and that the exceptions would have been so few as not to have excited attention anywhere. Nor is it improbable that a provision for trial by jury, under the supervision and direction of judges of the United States Courts in the States from which the escape was alleged to have been made, with proper securities for the return of persons who might be found entitled to their freedom, would have relieved the North of all serious apprehensions concerning personal liberty. But neither course was adopted, and hence the fugitive-slave law of 1850 has been the occasion of unmitigated evil to the country, and was the first of a series of measures designed to effect a separation of these states.

Next, the conspirators against the Union, misleading Mr. Douglas, and probably abusing the confidence that he reposed in them, secured the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Like all measures

ostensibly for peace that have marked our public proceedings for ten years, this act imbibited and intensified party and sectional strifes at Washington, and plunged the nation itself into civil war on the plains of Kansas.

Those unhappy results were all foreseen. When Congress refused to declare the condition of a territory that was inviting both to free and slave labor, what else than civil war could have been expected ? Indeed, war could not have been averted. Congress virtually invited the twenty-five million of American people in these States, entertaining opposite and hostile opinions upon slavery, to assemble by their representatives, and decide whether Kansas should be free or slave. The decision of the question, so submitted and so made, was necessarily offensive to the defeated party, and hence we had not only civil war in Kansas, but alienation of sentiment throughout the whole country, with a tendency specific and powerful to disunion and civil and servile war, in whose lurid flames men are to-day like spectres walking.

Next, in 1856, the Democratic party was required to accept as a part of its platform a resolution, on which the right of a State to secede from the Union can be logically based.

I read from the Cincinnati Platform of 1856 : —

“ *Resolved*, That we recognize the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of the inhabitants justi-

fies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

By this resolution one question only — the question of population — is reserved to the old States ; this being settled affirmatively, then the right of a territory to admission into the Union is declared to be absolute and final. Thus, upon the absolute right of a territory to admission into the confederacy without the free consent of the existing members, is naturally, fairly, and logically based the right of a State to secede from the Union without regard to the wishes, or opinions, or power of the Union itself. And thus in 1856 did the Democratic party accept the doctrine of secession as a constitutional doctrine.

Following the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan in March, 1857, and foreshadowed by his inaugural address, came the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott. I forbear to comment upon the opinion itself, but it widened the chasm, already fearful, between the two sections of the Union.

So logical are events in this country, and so inflexible are the laws which govern the increase of population and the distribution of political power among the States, that the application of the doctrine of secession and the overthrow of the Union could not have been postponed beyond 1860, unless indeed they were indefinitely deferred.

The census of 1860 numbers the swarming myriads of the North, and measures and fixes the representative power of the two sections for ten years. This

is in itself a revolution such as takes place in no other country on the globe. The South were forewarned by the censuses of 1840 and 1850, and they foresaw that in a national Democratic Convention, acting under the two-thirds rule, they would be able barely to dictate the nominee of the party in 1864. This fact also measures the loss of power in the country and in Congress.

Since 1850, for the first time in the history of the country, the free States have commenced the work of colonization over the border. This work will go on. Not offensively, nor by plan, but in obedience to laws of migration and population which no mere human power can resist or permanently control. This colonization threatens the abolition of slavery in Missouri, in portions of Texas and Virginia, and in Delaware.

From and through Kansas we may expect a line of migration southward, over New Mexico and Arizona, into Sonora and Chihuáhua. Across the Isthmus there will be one or more lines of free States under English or American rule, and in either case hostile to slavery. The construction of a railway to the Pacific Ocean promises to unite the country east and west more firmly, and hence the importance of action by the South before the consummation of these schemes for enlarging and strengthening the Union.

The first act of 1860 in the drama of secession was the destruction of the Democratic party; for I feel bound to admit that, while the integrity of the

Democratic party was preserved, it was difficult, if not impossible, to destroy the Union. Not that the Democratic party was more loyal to the constitution or the Union than other parties, but being ever swift to obey the calls of slavery, it was not easy for slavery to make an issue with it.

Hence in the Convention at Charleston an issue was forced upon the party for the express purpose of driving it from power. Eight States withdrew from the Convention before a candidate was nominated or a platform adopted. It was a blow struck at the Union over the fallen form of the Democracy. The manifest purpose was to sever the Democratic party, give the election to the Republicans, whether by numerical strength they were entitled to it or not, divide the Union, seize the capital, prevent the inauguration of the new President, hold the archives of the government, usurp the command of the army and the navy, and, upon the basis of legitimacy and right even, to reform and reconstruct a military slaveholding empire in the South, which should command the Gulf of Mexico, the mouth of the Mississippi, stretch to the Pacific between Upper and Lower California, and finally absorb Cuba, Mexico, and Central America. Thus, under the corrupting and dechristianizing influences of slavery, is it the purpose of these leaders to convert the fairest portions of the American continent to the rule of a military despotism.

Governor Pickens of South Carolina, in his inaugural address, says the new government will be more

military in its character than the old one. This is a considerate and significant statement of the policy of the South. Thus far they have failed in nothing ; and it is now too plain to require proof, that the Democracy united would have commanded the electoral vote of the country in 1860. In the natural order of events, the Republican triumph should have been deferred to 1864. But the Republican party has triumphed, not so much by its own inherent strength, as by the systematic and pre-arranged divisions of its opponents. It seeks by constitutional means, and in constitutional ways, to administer the government of this country. The secession leaders are now able to rally the people of their respective States upon an issue favorable to their treasonable schemes. South Carolina, with a defiant and warlike spirit, abandons the Union. The seven other States that went out of the Charleston Convention will soon follow South Carolina. If the question of secession is submitted to the people of North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia before the 4th of March next, they also may join the rebellion against the Union. The leaders resolve upon separate secession, because they well know that no union among themselves can ever be effected unless they first cut the cords that bind them to the existing government.

In this juncture of affairs we anxiously ask what more remains to be done ? I infer from what I see and hear, that most of my countrymen believe that the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency is to be declared in the customary way, and that he is to

be inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March next. The intentions of men are hidden from our view ; but the necessities of the seceders we can appreciate, and the logic of events we can comprehend. It is a necessity of the South to prevent the inauguration of Lincoln. If he is inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, the cause of the secessionists is lost forever. In all their proceedings they have been wise and logical thus far ; and I assume that resistance to the inauguration of Lincoln is a part of their well-laid scheme. No man can now tell whether this scheme will be abandoned, whether it will be tried and fail, or whether it will be tried with success. I believe it will be tried.

True, the administration has put itself on the side of order ; the city is alarmed for its existence, knowing full well that, if it is given up to the military or the mob, and the representatives of eighteen free States are for a single hour only fugitives from the capital of the country, its re-occupation will be upon terms less agreeable to the inhabitants of the District and the neighboring States. The possession of Washington does, in a considerable degree, control the future of this country. Believing, as I do, in the stern purposes of these men, — knowing also that Maryland and Virginia can command on the instant the presence of large bodies of volunteers, I deem it only an act of common prudence for the free States, without menaces, without threats, with solemn and official declarations even that no offensive movement will be undertaken, to organize and put upon

a war footing a force of one hundred thousand men, who may be moved at any moment when desired by the authorities of the country.

What then will be our position ? The way ought to be open for the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, but there are those who demand a compromise as a step necessary and preliminary to that event. I do not now speak of the demand made upon States in their sovereign capacity, to repeal certain laws, concerning personal liberty, alleged to be unconstitutional.

The duty of States in that particular is plain. If they have laws upon their statute-books that are unconstitutional and offensive, they should be repealed as an act of duty ; if they have laws that are offensive and unnecessary, they should be repealed as an act of comity ; but if constitutional laws exist, that are necessary for the protection of the rights and liberties of citizens, though they be offensive to other men and States, they must stand, though the heavens fall. Action upon such laws, whether ending in revision or repeal, is in no proper sense a compromise.

The compromises of which I speak are the various propositions before Congress, or its committees, which proceed upon the idea that the election by the people of a President of the Republic, in constitutional ways and by constitutional means only, shall not be consummated by his peaceful inauguration, unless the character of the government is previously fundamentally changed, or pledges given that such changes shall be permitted. I see no great evidence that these demands are to be acceded to ; but I see that the

demands themselves attack the fundamental principles of republican liberty. If disappointed men, be they few or many, be they conspirators and traitors, or misguided zealots merely, can interpose their will, and arrest, or divert, or contravene the public judgment, constitutionally expressed, then our government is no longer one of laws, but a government of men.

I am not of those who hold that the Constitution of the country is perfect, and ought never to be changed ; but I do hold that while it exists it should be observed. Let, then, Mr. Lincoln be peacefully inaugurated ; let him declare his own views ; let him administer the government, that men may judge his administration by experience ; then if there be persons or States whose rights need additional securities, I doubt not that he and his friends will readily grant them. But the secessionists know that their only hope is in the precipitancy of their measures and the extravagance of their demands. The leaders understand that the masses are deceived, and that even a brief delay will rekindle their loyalty to the Union, and that in two or four years the Confederacy would be stronger than ever before. If, then, present compromise be impracticable, if seceding States deny a delay, as they probably will, if they plunge the country into the horrors of civil war by the actual shedding of blood, is it not wise to submit to a peaceful dissolution of the Confederacy ? This depends, gentlemen, upon your readiness to affirm one of two propositions. Either that secession is a right secured to each State by the

Constitution ; or, denying this, but admitting the right of revolution, that the seceding States are too powerful to justify resistance on our part.

If secession is a constitutional right, it is a right appertaining to each State ; and if it is the right of each State, it is the right of a mere majority of the citizens of the smallest State in the Union to decide whether the Union shall longer exist. And hence it follows practically that we have no government. A question, then, in which we are all vastly more concerned than we are in anything that it is possible for the seceding States to do, is the settlement for all time of the question of the right of the American Union to exist. Not the right to exist in subordination to the will of a State, but an original, supreme right derived from the people of the whole country, from the people of all the States.

If secession is not a constitutional right, then all organized, formidable, open, belligerent movements for the disruption of this Union are rebellions, and all persons engaged in them, and their aiders and abettors, are rebels and traitors. It is the essence of all governments that they have power to suppress insurrections, and, by the Constitution of the United States, special authority for this purpose is given. Coercion, then,—not of a State, which is too intangible for that purpose, but of the people of every State and Territory who may be in resistance to the authority and laws of the Union,—is a right in the Federal Government derived alike from the Constitution and from the necessities of national life.

Nor does it follow that the State governments are subordinate to the general government; but each has a sphere of its own, and each is supreme in that sphere. The opposite doctrine is the source of our difficulties. In 1831, on the 4th of July, Mr. Calhoun gave this toast at Pendleton, S. C.: "The State and General Governments:— Each imperfect when viewed as separate and distinct governments, but, taken as a whole, forming one system, *each checking and controlling the other*, unsurpassed by any work of man in wisdom and sublimity." And in 1860, South Carolina, failing to accomplish all that she desired in the control of the general government, enters upon the suicidal work of secession. I do not say that active and warlike coercive measures are necessary and wise immediately, but it should be understood that the government of the Union has both the ability and the purpose, in its own time and in its own way, to suppress insurrections and rebellions. The recent shock to public credit and individual enterprise was not owing to the attempted secession of one or many States, but to the fact that the illogical views taken by the President in his message destroyed the government itself by denying its right to exist. We may as well admit the right of secession in a State, as to deny to the general government the right of coercion. Practically, in either case, the government is at an end.

Will the people maintain the Union by the exercise of force? Ultimately they will, if it prove necessary, and for that purpose the free States will

become a unit. We have no alternative in this matter. The reasons which impel us to resort to force are too powerful to permit a choice on our part.

I. *Geographical considerations.* — From the British possessions trending southward are three great slopes, two single and one double, distinctly separated from each other, yet neither is so divided or broken by natural lines or barriers as to permit its division for political purposes: the Atlantic slope, the Mississippi valley, and the borders of the Pacific Ocean. The writers of the Federalist well thought it practicable to form one confederacy between the Atlantic Ocean and the Alleghanies, and another between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. The rapid advance of civilization and the construction of railways and telegraphs have dissipated this idea. The Rocky Mountains are still a barrier sufficient to mark the limits of independent States. The railway will solve the problem of the union of the Pacific with the Atlantic. But we search in vain, on any parallel of latitude from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, for a line or barrier that can mark the boundaries of independent States. Nature has put the seal of unity upon each of these three great continental divisions, and nature's order will not be disturbed permanently by the power of man.

II. *The trade of the Gulf of Mexico.* — After the Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico is the most important water for commercial purposes on the surface of the globe. It is filled with fertile and productive islands, it touches the entire cotton-growing

region of North America, that seems to hold this inland sea in its majestic embrace ; it is the region of valuable woods, of precious minerals ; it is the thoroughfare to the Pacific by the shortest overland routes on the continent ; and, above all, it receives the contributions of the Father of Waters, in whose valley, within a hundred years, there shall dwell in peace and plenty a hundred million of human beings. Other men may expect peace while the inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi follow the windings of the waters, that trickle from their own hills, through a foreign country, to the sea. I do not. And may we not here suggestively remember, that migration has always forced itself southward, and that the Roman armies, enlisted in ancient Pannonia, marched a thousand miles beyond the tropic of Cancer towards the equator.

III. By dissolution we abandon the trade of the Pacific and the islands and continents of the East.

IV. The business and wealth of all our cities have for their foundation the unity of the country. When this foundation is removed, the wealth of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Baltimore will be essentially and permanently diminished. We should be oppressed with attempts to establish conflicting custom-house regulations, and with an extensive and defenceless frontier.

These considerations apply with equal force to the South, and will deter them in a degree from pursuing the course marked out by the leaders. There

are also additional reasons that apply exclusively to the South.

I. *An expensive government and direct taxation.* The suggestion of Governor Pickens must be followed, and the South will be burdened with a heavy military organization. A change of government will not create manufactures or commerce. No one supposes that a line from the Atlantic to the Pacific can ever be defended against contraband traders, and hence the custom-house duties of the two sections would in the main correspond. The North could never consent to a lower system of duties in the South, and the result would leave commerce in the hands of those who enjoy it to-day. We shall have two governments,—the northern cheap, with large revenues, and the southern expensive, with small revenues. In the northern, direct taxes and debts for general purposes would be unknown; in the southern, debts and direct taxes would paralyze industry, diminish the price of property, repel immigration,—and finally the free States would assume the control of the continent outside of the slave States.

In every government there is a limit to the power of taxation. The citizen can contribute a portion, great or small, of his annual income; but whenever the accumulations of former years are taken, the citizens and government are soon involved in a common ruin. The South has no credit; nor can it ever have, for the basis of credit is wanting. Its net annual income is small. Commerce it cannot create;

the power of taxation will be insufficient for a state of peace even; and the power to borrow money in the North or in Europe is denied to her by well-remembered circumstances in the history of individual States, as well as by the recognized influence of her social and industrial policy.

II. Cotton ceases to be king when the American Union ceases to exist. This event would be injurious to us all. It is well that cotton is king of commerce, but we can never allow it to subjugate liberty. A division of the Union will diminish the cotton crop to the amount of twenty or thirty per cent. annually during the continuance of the strife between the sections. Cotton may be raised, with differing success, over a belt of seventy degrees of latitude. Nowhere is there so large a tract of lands fitted to produce cotton of superior staple as in the United States; but the cotton regions of Central America, South America, Africa, and Asia are quite sufficient to supply the present demand of the world.

The political disturbances that have already taken place have given an impulse to the English mind which will ultimately prove pernicious to the great interest of America. Lands are not needed for the growth of cotton, but the presence of qualified laborers upon those lands. Now that the interests of England and Continental Europe are put in jeopardy by the movements of the South, we may look for more vigorous efforts to procure supplies of cotton from other sources. These efforts will be crowned

with success, partial or complete ; but it behooves the South to put an end to a controversy which will give no additional security to slavery, and which may end in the overthrow of the institution itself, and the surrender of the cotton-growing power to other sections of the globe. A diminution in the supply of American cotton works an increase of the article elsewhere, or else a change in the manufacturing industry of America and Europe. In either case the South first, and the whole country secondarily, must suffer. The reign of King Cotton must be peaceful ; — by war he will be dethroned.

III. The movements of the secessionists encourage and forebode servile war. I fear that men who have defied the flag of the republic may yet have bitter experience touching the institution of slavery. By the Constitution we are bound to suppress servile insurrections, and the North would doubtless, whenever the exigency should arise, act in conformity to the requirement. But who can or will be responsible for the four million slaves when the flag of the Union is no longer recognized in the slave States, and hostility to the North takes possession of men who more than any besides are interested in promoting loyalty to the government ? Nor will it be easy for the North to prevent hostile incursions into the South. If men sought the overthrow of slavery in blood, the destruction of this Union would be at once the beginning and the accomplishment of their design.

IV. The Southern States cannot form a lasting

Union among themselves. Being the weaker section, the politics and diplomacy of the North would be directed to promote divisions and estrangements. The northern slave States would gradually lose their interest in slavery and finally the Northern confederacy would aid in the emancipation of their slaves by purchase, and receive them into the Union of free States. Slavery cannot advance northward; freedom, with the Union or without it, will advance southward, and by its gentle allurements bring back State after State into the Northern confederacy.

If, then, peaceful secession were possible, there is nothing beyond inviting to either section, and destruction surely awaits the South. But peace for any number of years is not possible; secession is war, and those who weigh the circumstances will so treat it in the beginning.

Will fugitives from slavery be surrendered? Will the territorial questions be answered? Will strife cease on the borders of States or Territories? Will there not be bitter and bloody struggles for the possession of New Mexico and old Mexico? — for the possession of Central America and the routes to the Pacific?

And for the North, there is the additional consideration that we cannot consent to the establishment of a slaveholding, military oligarchy upon our southern side. We must first, then, give to the existing administration whatever support may be needed for the execution of the laws and the preservation of the Union.

We must look for the peaceful inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, and be prepared to secure his inauguration at the capital of the country, and at the appointed time, by the presence of such force as may be demanded by those officials who are bound to keep the peace. Then there must be time given for the organization of the conservative men of the South, who are at present borne down by an audacity and tyranny unknown since the revolutionary era of France. This interval will at once exhaust the revolutionists of the seceding States, and diminish the number and force of the prejudices in the Southern mind, that have no authority except in misrepresentations made for political purposes.

Nor should I deem it unwise for the North, if it may do so without serious division and loss of strength, to announce its readiness to aid those States that desire to adopt a plan of emancipation, by the assumption, on the part of the general government, of a portion of the pecuniary burden. In so far as the evil is general, its removal should be sought through common and mutual sacrifices.

But if, unhappily, neither a spirit of justice in us, nor the presence of obstacles in the way of the secessionists which cannot be overcome, nor the exhaustion and sacrifices on their part of a condition of war without any of its customary honors or glories, shall recall them to their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union, there will then be no alternative but to preserve the one and compact the other by the exhibition of such force as may be needed.

When all things else have failed, *force* is the last resort of States, whatever may have been the theory of their organization. And we shall, I doubt not, if these but possible extremities of public and national life are finally to be presented and accepted, preserve the freedom of the citizens and the sovereignty of the States.

It is, indeed, possible, yet not probable, that the leaders of the South, maddened by ambition and disappointment, and deceived by a few men who misrepresent the opinions and purposes of the North, may seize the pillars of the temple of the nation, and bring it down in ruins upon us all. But for one, I fear not any such catastrophe; and I accept the future of the country with the utmost confidence that Liberty and Union are to be hereafter, as now, one and inseparable.

The words which I addressed to Kossuth, when in the name of the people of Massachusetts I sought to cheer him with the hope that Hungary would be restored to nationality and freedom, I now address to myself and to you: "Liberty can never die. The generations of men appear and pass away, but the aspirations of their nature are immortal." Slavery may die. The Republic shall live!

